

## Message Text

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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9604

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 KINSHASA 7761

NODIS

PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, CG, PFOR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF ZAIRIAN REPORT ON DAR CONFERENCE

REF: KINSHASA 7743 AND 7749

1. FOLLOWING IS HASTY TRANSLATION OF FULL REPORT ON DAR CONFERENCE  
PREPARED BY MOBUTU'S SECURITY SERVICES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT  
MOBUTU SENT HIS NUMBER THREE MAN IN THE CND TO DAR TO DRAW  
BODY OF REPORT FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, SOME OF WHICH ARE INDICATED  
BELOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

REPORT ON CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AT DAR ES SALAAM ON  
THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

I. PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE:

A CONFERENCE BRINGING TOGETHER FIVE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE, JULIUS  
A. NYERERE, KENNETH KAUNDA, SAMORA MACHEL, SERETSE KHAMA AND AGUSTINO  
NETO WAS HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM FROM SEPT 5 - 7, 1976.

BISHOP MUZOREWA AND THE ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR IN DAR ES SALAAM  
HAVE RESPECTIVELY PROVIDED INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MOTIVE AND  
PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE.

ACCORDING TO THEIR INFORMATION, THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH GOVERN-  
METTS HAVE ASSURED PRES NYERERE THAT THEY HAVE NOW DECIDED TO  
PUT PRESSURE ON IAN SMITH TO MAKE HIM ACCEPT THE TRANSFER OF  
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AUTHORITY TO THE BLACK MAJORITY. IN THE EVENT HE REFUSES, THE TWO

GOVT (AMERICAN AND BRITISH) ARE READY TO OVERTHROW HIM.  
HOWEVER, UNDER THIS CIRCUMSTANCE (RESIGNATION OR EVICTION BY  
FORCE OF IAN SMITH), A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION CONFRONTS THE AMERICANS:  
WHO SHOULD BE PUT IN POWER AFTER SMITH'S DEPARTURE?

PRESIDENT NYERERE, TO WHOM THIS QUESTION WAS POSED, COULD OFFER  
NOTHING BETTER THAN TO CONVOLVE A MEETING OF THE FIVE HEADS OF  
STATE MOST CONCERNED IN ORDER TO BRING TOGETHER THE LEADERS OF THE  
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS THAT IS SITHOLE, MUZOREWA, AND NKONO AND MUGABE  
SO AS TO TRY TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE AMERICAN QUESTION. THAT WAS  
THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENT NYERERE'S INVITATION WAS URGENT BECAUSE THE AMERICANS  
HAD UNDERLINED THE URGENCY OF A RESPONSE TO THEIR QUESTION. FIRST,  
OF ALL, THE AMERICAN GOVT WOULD LIKE TO LIQUIDATE THIS PROBLEM  
BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE US FOR THE SIMPLE  
REASON THAT A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY WOULD DELAY THE ENTIRE PROCESS  
BEGUN BY PRES FORD AND KISSINGER. THE NEW GOVT WOULD HAVE TO FAM-  
ILARIZE ITSELF WITH THE DOSSIER. THIS INTERRUPTION COULD BE TO  
THE ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION SECONDLY, THE AMERICANS  
EXPLAINED TO PRES NYERERE THAT IF THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS CANNOT  
BRING ABOUT UNITY AMONG THE LEADERS, SOUTH AFRICA IS ON THE VERGE  
OF SENDING TROOPS AND HEAVY WEAPONS TO SET UP A PUPPET REGIME  
IN ZIMBABWE.

ACCORDING TO THE ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR IN DAR, PRES NYERERE WANTED  
ALSO TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS CONFERENCE TO DENY RUMORS ACCUSING  
HIM ALONG WITH KMANDA OF HAVING CREATED AND PLACED THE "THIRD  
FORCE" (ZIPA) ON THEIR PAYROLL, IN ORDER TO PARALYZE THE MOVEMENT  
LEADERS. FOR THIS REASON, PRES NYERERE PROCEEDED TO CONFRONT  
DIRECTLY THE LEADERS DURING THE CONFERENCE TO ESTABLISH THE PROOF.  
OBVIOUSLY SINCE IT IS A QUESTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE FIVE  
CHIEFS OF STATE REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

## II. CONDUCT OF THE CONFERENCE:

THE CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE WITH A PRIVATE MEETING OF THE CHIEFS  
OF STATE FIRST AND WITH THE MOVEMENTS LEADERS LATER. THERE WAS NO  
OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON THIS MEETING, NOT EVEN THE TANZANIAN PRESS  
COMMENTED ON IT.

HOWEVER, WE WERE ABLE TO PENETRATE THE ENTOURAGE OF THE HEADS  
OF STATE AND LEADERS WHO TOOK PART IN THE CONFERENCE AND WE OBTAINED  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

1. THE PROBLEM OF ZIMBABWE  
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A HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE TANZANIAN SECURITY SERVICE WHO ASSISTED  
NYERERE DURING THIS CONFERENCE CONFIDED TO US THAT THE PRIVATE  
MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE ENDED IN FAILURE. PRESIDENTS NETO  
AND SMORA DID NOT ACCEPT THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH THEY CONSIDERED  
TO BE AN IMPERIALIST AMERICAN TRAP AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A PUPPET  
REGIME IN ZIMBABWE.

THUS, THE HEADS OF STATE WERE UNABLE TO SUCCEED IN DETERMINING  
A COMMON STRATEGY TO FOLLOW WITH REGARD TO THE PROBLEM. NEVER-

THELESS, THEY AREED ON ONE POINT: INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

DURING THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE, THE FIVE HEADS OF STATE TRIED TO UNITE THE LEADERS. WITH THIS IN MIND, NYERERE OPENED THE MEETING BY DRAWING THE LEADERS ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM AND THE NECESSITY OF UNITY. TO DO THIS, HE ASKED EACH LEADER TO STATE BEFORE THE HEADS OF STATE WHAT HE REPRESENTED. THE ANSWERS WERE RATHER DECIEVING BECAUSE THEY CONDEMNED THE MEETING TO FAILURE AT THE OUTSET:

--SITHOLE, WHO WAS ASKED TO ANSWER FIRST, DECLARED "I HAVE COME TO REPRESENT THE ANC OF MUZOREWA\*"

--MUZOREWA HIMSELF REPLIED: "I HAVE COME TO REPRESENT THE ANC." ASKED BY NYERERE TO SPECIFY WHICH ANC HE SAID, "ANC."

--NKOMO IN HIS TURN REPLIED; "I HAVE COME TO REPRESENT THE ANC PROPER."

--MOGABE REPLIED THAT HE HAD COME TO REPRESENT ZANU. TO THE OBJECTIO N

OF PRES NYERERE WHO POINTED OUT THAT ZANU IS NOT RECOGNIZED AS SUCH BY THE OAU AND ITS LIBERATION COMMITTEE, HE RETORTED THAT THAT MATTERED LITTLE TO HIM AS LONG AS ZANU IS AT THE FRONT AND CAN DEMONSTRATE ITS INDISPUTABLE MILITARY STRENGTH WITHIN THE ANC. CONFRONTED WITH THIS CONFUSION, AND WANTING TO PROVE THAT THE "THIRD FORCE" IS THE RESULT OF CONFLICTS AMONG THE POLITICAL LEADERS, THE HEADS OF STATE ASKED EACH LEADER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

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- (1) DO YOU KNOW THAT THERE IS A WAR?
- (2) WHO IS FIGHTING?
- (3) WHO IS THE COMMANDER OF THE TROOPS?
- (4) YOU ARE A POLITICAL LEADER, ARE THE COMBATANTS WHO ARE FIGHTING YOUR SOLDIERS?

ON THIS QUESTION NKOMO STRONGLY ATTACKED TANZANIA WHICH HE ACCUSED OF BEING THE SOURCE OF CONFLICT BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU AND WHICH HAD COST THE LIVES OF MANY OF HIS COMBATANTS. HE STATED THAT HE NO LONGER HAD CONFIDENCE IN TANZANIA AND PREFERRED TO GO IT ALONE IN HIS COUNTRY.

SPEAKING OF UNITY, MR. NKOMO DECLARED THAT NEITHER THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE NOR THE LEADERS OF ZIMBABWE CAN DECIDE WHICH PERSON SHOULD SAFEGUARD UNITY. THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE ALONE MUST DECIDE. AND THIS PEOPLE IS IN ZIMBABWE AND NOT ABROAD.

SPEAKING IN HIS TURN, MUGABE DECLARED THAT HE NEVER HAD FAITH IN THE UNITY OF THE ANC. BECAUSE SITHOLE IS A THIEF. HE PUT ALL THE MONEY HE RECEIVED TO ASSIST THE FIGHTERS IN A BANK IN MALAWI. MUZOREWA HAD ALSO DOEN THE SAME THING IN OTHER COUNTRIES. NKOMO HAD ALREADY WITHDRAWN HIS TROOPS. THEREFORE, THERE ONLY REMAIN ZANU COMBATANTS WHO ARE BEING MASSACRED AT THE FRONT.

FACING THIS DETERIORATING SITUATION, THE HEADS OF STATE ASKED EACH OF THE LEADERS IF THEY WANTED TO HOLD TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE OAU OR IF THEY PREFERRED THE IMMEDIATE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. WITH THIS QUESTION, THEY SENT THE LEADERS OUT CONFIDENTIAL

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TO CONFER AMONG THEMSELVES.

AFTER THEIR MEETING, THE LEADERS OPTED FOR INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. HOWEVER, ON THE SUBJECT OF UNITY EACH ONE MAINTAINED HIS POSITION.

IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT HERE THAT NKOMO'S ARROGANCE AND INTRANSIGENCE WERE THE SOURCE OF THIS FAILURE. BECAUSE, AT ONE MOMENT ALL THE LEADERS WERE IN AGREEMENT WITH A FORMULA PROPOSED BY THE COMMANDERS OF THE "THIRD FORCE" EXCEPT FOR NKOMO WHOSE REFUSAL PUT ALL IN DOUBT.

CONFRONTED WITH THIS SITUATION, PRES KAUNDA, DISAPPOINTED, PACKED HIS BAGS ALONG WITH PRES KHAMA, TO RETURN HOME. NYERERE INTERVENED AT THE MOMENT WHEN THEIR BAGS WERE LEAVING THE HOTEL KILAMANJARO FOR THE AIRPORT.

ALTHOUGH NYERERE SUCCEEDED IN RESTRAINING HIS COLLEAGUES, THE ATTITUDE OF THE LEADERS DID NOT CHANGE. AFTER AN ENTIRE NIGHT OF DISCUSSION, THEY HAD ONLY MANAGED TO ENLARGE THE DIVERGENCE OF THEIR POINTS OF VIEW.

IT WAS THUS THAT THE PRESIDENTS LIMITED THEMSELVES, AS WAS UNDERLINED BY BISHOP MUZOREWA, TO VAGUELY RECOMMENDING UNITY AMONG THE LEADERS, WITHOUT HOWEVER PROPOSING A PRACTICAL FORMULA TO ACHIEVING THIS UNITY.

THEIR CONFERENCE WAS ONLY SANCTIONED BY VAGUE RECOMMENDATIONS:  
(1) THEY ASKED NKOMO TO ORDER HIS COMBATANTS TO REJOIN THE ANC.

(2) THEY ASKED THE POLITICAL LEADERS TO IND A FORMULA FOR UNITY. TO THIS END, NYERERE PROPOSED TO THE LEADERS ANOTHER MEETING TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

(3) THEY EXPLAINED TO MOGABE THAT THE OAU RECOGNIZED NEITHER ZANU NOR ZAPU BECAUSE BOTH OF THEM HAVE BEEN PART OF THE ANC SINCE 1974.

WITH THESE SAD RECOMMENDATIONS, THE PRINCIPAL CHAPTER OF ZIMBABWE WAS CLOSED.

## 2. NAMIBIA

THE POSITION OF THE BRITISH GOVT WITH REGARD TO THIS PROBLEM CONSISTS OF GATHERING TOGETHER VORSTER AND THE LEADERS OF SWAPO IN A CONFERENCE AT GENEVA TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES OF INDEPENDENCE. LONDON DEMANDS THAT VORSTER RECONSIDER THE RESOLUTIONS TAKEN BY THE PUPPETS OF THE TRADITIONAL CHIEFS.

SWAPO, WHICH HAS ACCEPTED THE BRITISH PROPOSAL AWAITS VORSTERS REACTION.

HOWEVER, IT HAS POSED CERTAIN PRECONDITIONS FOR HOLDING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ERENCE IN GENEVA.

(1) VORSTER MUST WITHDRAW ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA.

(2) HE MUST FREE ALL POLITICAL DETAINEES.

(3) THE UN MUST PARTICIPATE, IN FACT EVEN PRESIDE OVER, THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

(4) VORSTER MUST ACCEPT SWAPO AS THE ONLY PARTICIPANT IN THE CONFERENCE.

AT THE TIME OF THE CONFERENCE IN DAR, ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL DISCLOSURES BY THE ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR, THE GENEVA MEETING WAS CONFIRMED BECAUSE MR. SCHAUFELD ASSERTED THAT VORSTER WOULD ACCEPT SWAPO AT THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, ONE POINT AROUSES THE RETICENCE OF THE US, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA, WHICH IS THE PRO-SOVIET LEANINGS OF SWAPO WHICH HAS ENTERED THE KREMLIN'S ORBIT.

IT WAS THUS THAT AT DAR ES SALAAM, THE LEADERS OF THIS MOVEMENT ASKED FOR AN INCREASE IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE. BUT THEY INSISTED THAT IN THE FUTURE THIS ASSISTANCE TRANSMIT ANGOLA RATHER THAN ZAMBIA AS IT HAD IN THE PAST.

FACED WITH THIS IDEOLOGICAL POSITION, ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE US ARE SECRETLY PREPARING A STRATEGY TO LIMIT SWAPO'S POWER AT GENEVA IN ORDER THAT IT NOT HAVE ALL THE CARDS OF A SINGLE LEADER.

## III. ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND REACTION:

AFTER THE STORY OF THE CONDUCT OF THE CONFERENCE, THE ANALYSIS MADE OF THE SITUATION BY INTERESTED PERSONS AS WELL AS THEIR REACTIONS AND THOSE OF SPECIALISTS CONSTITUTE A VERY

IMPORTANT WINDOW WHICH ALLOWS A FULL VIEW OF THE SITUATION.  
THIS WILL PERMIT A MORE OR LESS OBJECTIVE CONCLUSION REGARDING  
THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

(1) MSGR. MUZOREWA'S POSITION:  
PESSIMISM AND DISAPPOINTMENT, SUCH ARE SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY  
MUZOREWA AT THE END OF OUR TALKS.  
INDEED HE DEMONSTRATED HOW THE SITUATION GOES FROM BAD TO  
WORSE:  
-- IN MAURITIUS, THE ONLY PROBLEM THE OAU HAD WAS THE RE-  
CONCILIATION OF NKOMO AND MUZOREWA. AT THAT TIME MUZOREWA  
PROPOSED, IN HIS SPEECH, TO NKOMO A UNIFICATION FORMULA. THE  
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LATTER LEFT THE ROOM TO GIVE A PRESS CONFERENCE WHERE HE DECLARED  
THAT UNITY MUST TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

-- IN LUSAKA, ONE FOUND ONESELF CONFRONTED WITH TWO DISTINCT  
GROUPS OF NKOMO AND MUZOREWA.  
-- AT MAPUTO, THE PROBLEM BECOMES COMPLICATED. IN ADDITION  
TO THE ALREADY EXISTING TWO GROUPS, ONE IS SURPRISED TO SEE MR.  
MUGABE IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM, IN FRONT OF PRES SAMORA, PRESENTING  
HIMSELF AS A SECRETARY GENERAL OF ZANU. IN ADDITION, THE PRESENCE  
OF THE HIGH COMMANDER OF THE THIRD FORCE WAS OBSERVED IN THE  
ROOM. AT THIS MOMENT THERE ARE THREE POLITICAL LEADERS (NKOMO,  
MUZOREWA, TLUGABE) AND FOUR FACTIONS.

-- AT DAR ES SALAAM, THERE IS COMPLETE CONFUSION. AFTER THE  
FAILURE OF THE CONFERENCE SITHOLE DENOUNCES, DURING A PRESS  
CONFERENCE, SEPT. 4, 1976, THE LUSAKA DECLARATION AND ANNOUNCES  
THAT HE IS GOING TO REORGANIZE ZANU. THERE ARE NOW FOUR POLITICAL  
LEADERS INSTEAD OF THE THREE OF MAPUTO.

HAVING THUS DESCRIBED THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION, BISHOP  
MUZOREWA HAS CONCLUDED THERE HAS BEEN FAILURE. HE HAS PLACED MOST  
OF THE BLAME ON MR. NKOMO WHO, HE DECLARED, "HANDLES HIMSELF AS A

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SUPERPRESIDENT AND REFUSES TO COME TOGETHER WITH THE  
OTHERS BECAUSE  
HE HAS SOVIET SUPPORT." INDEED, SAID MUZOREWA, "NKOMO TOLD US  
AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE: 'I DO NOT SEE THE NEED FOR POLITICAL  
UNITY BECAUSE ONLY FIGHTING COUNTS'."

THUS, MUZOREWA, PESSIMISTIC AND DISCOURAGED DESPITE NYERERE'S  
DETERMINATION TO SHORTLY CALL TOGETHER THE LEADERS FOR ANOTHER  
ATTEMPT AT UNIFICATION, HAS CONCLUDED: "HERE IS THE BAD NEWS  
THAT I SEND PRES. MOBUTU. I ASK HIM FOR ESSENTIAL AND URGENT  
AID WHICH WOULD TRAIN THE MANY RECRUITS THAT WE HAVE. THE NUMBER  
IS FOR HIM TO DETERMINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CAPABILITIES  
OF FAZ. I REQUEST YOU TO DRAW TO MY BROTHER'S ATTENTION THE  
URGENCY OF THIS AID."

(2) NKOMO'S POSITION:

FOR J. NKOMO IF THE LEADERS OF ZAMBABWE ARE TO BE UNITED IT IS  
NECESSARY TO CONSULT ONLY ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE AND NO ONE ELSE. THEY  
ARE IN ZIMBABWE. HE REMARKED THAT HE WAS WILLING TO UNITE WITH  
MUZOREWA. BUT MUZOREWA MUST FIRST REHABILITATE HIMSELF WITH THE  
PEOPLE HE BETRAYED AND WHO HATE HIM.

CRITICIZING THE CUNNING PATERNALISM OF TANZANIA AND  
MOZAMBIQUE WHICH WOULD IMPOSE ON THE POLITICAL LEADERS AN ARMY  
WHICH THEY HAVE MOUNTED TO INSTALL A REGIME WITH ALLEGIANCE TO  
THEM IN ZIMBABWE, NKOMO FIRST DREW TANZANIA'S ATTENTION TO THEM  
FACT THAT ITS ARMY IS UNDER THE POLITICAL AUTHORITY OF TANU AND  
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NOT VICE VERSA; HE FURTHER DECLARED THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD NOT BE  
THE FIRST COUNTRY TO BECOME INDEPENDENT WITH SEVERAL POLITICAL  
PARTIES.

FOR NKOMO THE REAL PROBLEM IS THAT OF INTENSIFYING THE ARMED  
STRUGGLE. ONLY THE PEOPLE WILL DECIDE UPON THEIR LEADERS AFTER  
VICTORY.

AS CAN BE SEEN, NKOMO IS BALKING AT A REAL DIALOGUE FOR  
UNIFICATION. ALL THE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS HAVE ATTRIBUTED  
THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF FAILURE OF THIS MEETING TO THE UNCOMPROMISING  
AND ARROGANT BEHAVIOR OF NKOMO. THEY EXPLAINED THIS BY THE  
STRONG SOVIET PROMISE OF AID THAT MAY HAVE BEEN MADE TO NKOMO.  
THIS HYPOTHESIS SEEMS TO BE CONFIRMED BY INFORMATION WHICH WE

HAVE RECEIVED FROM A YUGOSLAV IN DAR ES SALAAM. HE LET US READ A LETTER WHICH THE SOVIET MILITARY REP IN LUANDA ADDRESSED TO MR. NKOMO. IN THIS LETTER THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS FROM "PRESIDENT NKOMO" AN EFFECTIVE PLEDGE TO "ACCELERATE THE LIBERATION OF THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE FROM AMERICAN IMPERIALISM WHICH WANTS TO SUBUGATE THEM." IF THEIR RESPONSE IS POSITIVE THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PUT AT THE DISPOSAL OF NKOMO:

--25 MIG-21'S WHICH ARE ALREADY IN CRATES IN ANGOLA  
--10 MILLION DOLLARS (FIRST STAGE) FOR PROPAGANDA AND SPECIFICALLY TO BUY THE CONFIDENCE OF THE FIGHTERS OF OTHER MOVEMENTS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE ELIMINATION OF OTHER RIVAL LEADERS.

--HEAVY ARMS ALREADY IN ANGOLA AND "SOON TO BE IN MOZAMBIQUE IF PRESIDENT SAMORA YIELDS TO OUR PRESSURE AND ACCEPTS ALL OF OUR PROPOSALS."

IN ADDITION NKOMO WAS ASKED:

--TO KEEP THIS INFORMATION SECRET: "UNTIL THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL PLAN WHICH WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO HIM AFTER HIS WRITTEN RESPONSE". HE SHOULD AVOID KEEPING PRESIDENTS NYERERE, KAUNDA AND "PROVISIONALLY" SAMORA INFORMED OF THIS PLAN.

--TO REJECT ALL UNIFICATION AND TO PROVOKE THE SPLITTING UP OF THE ANC TO STOP THE "IMPERIALIST MANOUVERS" OF KISSINGER.

THE LETTER ENDS ON A NOT SO VEILED THRETTENING NOTE. IT DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE OFFER WAS "TO TAKE OR LEAVE BECAUSE THERE ARE MANY CANDIDATES."

(3) SITHOLE'S POSITION:

HIS LAST DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE ANC IN ORDER TO UNIFY THE FOUR ZANU FACTIONS CONSTITUTED IN THE EYES OF OBSERVERS THE SPLITTING UP OF THE ANC.

HOWEVER, THIS DECISION WAS PURELY FANCIFUL, AS HAVE NOTED  
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BISHOP MUZOREWA, NKOMO AND THE ZAMBIA AMBASSADOR, FOR SITHOLE IS NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE ZIPA HIGH COMMAND (THIRD FORCE). BUT ALL THE ZANU FIGHTERS ARE IN ZIPA AND ARE BASED IN MOZAMBIQUE. HOW COULD HE GET THEM OUT OF THERE WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE HIGH COMMAND WHICH HE DENOUNCED IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE?

(4) TANZANIA'S POSITION:

ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION GIVEN TO THE ZAMBIA AMB IN DAR ES SALAAM BY THE TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THE TANZANIAN GOVT ACCUSES THE SOVIETS OF SABOTAGEING THE CONFERENCE BY HAVING NKOMO AND NETO ACT AS SPOKESMEN. INDEED, THE ZIMBABWE FIGHTERS BASED IN TANZANIA ARE TRAINED BY THE CHINESE. IN ADDITION, THE NUMEROUS CONTACTS OF NYERERE WITH THE US HAVE SERIOUSLY WORRIED THE KREMLIN.

IN FACE OF THE SOVIET MANEUVERS TANZANIA IS TRYING TO FORMULATE WITH ZAMBIA, THE US AND GREAT BRITAIN A RAPID PEACEFUL SOLUTION. FOR THE CHINSE ARE CATEGORIC: IN CASE OF ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN AFRICANS THEY WILL IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW FROM THE SCENE.

THIS EXPLAINS THE DESPERATE ATTEMPT BY NYERERE TO RECONCILE THE LEADERS IN ORDER TO RESPOND TO THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL.

FOR THIS HE VERY MUCH COUNTS, IN CASE OF THE FAILURE OF UNIFICATION, ON THE THIRD FORCE WHICH HE WOULD PROPOSE TO KISSINGER AS AN URGENT SOLUTION DURING THEIR NEXT MEETING.

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(5) ZAMBIA'S POSITION:

PRES. KAUNDA'S REACTION OF WANTING TO SUDDENLY LEAVE THE CONFERENCE SUFFICIENTLY SHOWS HIS DISAPPOINTMENT.

INDEED, THE ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT HAD ALWAYS COUNTED ON J. NKOMO. HOWEVER, HE HAS NOW SEEN THAT THE LATTER IS SLIPPING BETWEEN HIS FINGERS, OVER TO THE SOVIET UNION.

ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION GIVEN BY THE ZAMBIAN AMB IN DAR ES SALAAM, HIS COUNTRY IS NOW VERY SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ZAMBIA FEARS A LOW BLOW BY THE SOVIET UNION. IT NO LONGER HAS CONFIDENCE IN ITS PARTNERS: TANZANIA, ANGOLA, AND MOZAMBIQUE.

THE ZAMBIAN AMB GOES SO FAR AS TO THINK THAT NYERERE IS PLAYING THE SOVIET GAME AND THAT HIS APPARENT OPENING TO THE US IS NOTHING BUT A PLOY TO DISCOVER THE AMERICAN PLAN. KAUNDA IS CONVINCED THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT HYPOTHESIS.

THUS THE ZAMBIAN AMB. TOLD US THAT THE PROFOUND DESIRE OF KAUNDA, BEFORE LEAVING DAR ES SALAAM, WAS THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU SHOULD INTERVENE WITHOUT DELAY IN ORDER TO FORMULATE WITH ZAMBIA, US, GREAT BRITAIN AND BOTSWANA A COMMON AND RAPID STRATEGY. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE NYERERE MANEUVERS ARE AIMED AT DISTRACTING THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO SURPRISE THEM.

IV. CONCLUSION: OUR ANALYSIS

IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE INFORMATION WE CAN EASILY NOTE THAT THE  
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ANGOLAN SCENARIO IS BEING PREPARED FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND  
ONCE AGAIN THE TWO SUPER-POWERS FIND THEMSELVES FACE TO FACE AND  
ARE CARRYING OUT THE OPERATIONS. THIS TIME ALSO, JUST LIKE IN  
ANGOLA, VICTORY WILL BELONG TO THAT SUPER-POWER WHICH WILL BE THE  
SWIFTEST AND MORE REALISTIC IN ITS ACTION PLAN.

HAVING GAINED EXPERIENCE IN ANGOLA, THE SOVIET UNION INTENDS  
TO USE THE SAME TACTIC: TO CHOOSE A STRONG MAN AND ACT QUICKLY  
WITHIN THE COUNTRY TO IMPLANT ITSELF AND TO DRIVE OUT THE OTHERS.

IT IS THUS THAT AFTER HAVING NOTED THAT MUZOREWA LOST POPULAR  
SUPPORT WITHIN IN ZIMBABWE, THE RUSSIANS DID NOT HESITATE TO  
DROP HIM IN ORDER TO CHOOSE ANOTHER MAN.

J. NKOMO IS THE IDEAL MAN WHO HAS NOW THE MAIN ASSETS: HE IS  
IN THE COUNTRY AND HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE POPULAR MASSES. THE  
SAME ASSETS THAT NETO HAD IN ANGOLA. THIS IS WHAT JUSTIFIES THE  
SOVIET CHOICE OF NKOMO.

HOWEVER, UNLIKE NETO NKOMO LEANS TOWARD THE RIGHT. HE  
HESITATES AND FLIRTS WITH THE RUSSIANS TO REINFORCE HIS POSITION.  
THE RUSSIANS ALSO NOTE THIS AND ARE WORRIED. THEY WANT TO ELIMINATE  
NKOMO IN ORDER TO REPLACE HIM WITH ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES WHO  
ARE UNDER THEIR THUMB. BUT THE TWO PERSONS MENTIONED, MOYO AND  
SILUNDIKA, ARE FIRSTLY VERY ATTACHED TO NKOMO AND SECONDLY, DM  
NOT HAVE A STRONG ENOUGH PERSONALITY TO FACE UP TO MOZOREWA, SIT-  
HOLE OR MUGABE.

NKOMO IS ALSO AWARE OF HIS POSITION OF FORCE VIS-A-VIS THE  
RUSSIANS. HE IS ACTUALLY DEVIDED BETWEEN HIS POLITICAL AF-  
FINITIES WITH PRESIDENT KUANDA AND HIS SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY  
ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE TEMPTING SOVIET OFFERS ON THE OTHER.

ONE OF HIS CLOSE COLLABORATORS ADMITTED TO US THAT  
"PRESIDENT NKOMO" DOES NOT LIKE THE SOVIETS, BUT HE ACTUALLY  
ACCEPTS THEIR "COMPANY" BECAUSE THEY MAKE HIM STRONG IN FRONT  
OF THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND IN FRONT OF HIS RIVALS IN OTHER  
MOVEMENTS. IT IS NECESSARY TO NOTE THAT NKOMO IS CONCEITED AND  
VERY AMBITIOUS OUR SOURCE CONCLUDED AND THAT HE COULD GO IN  
LEAGUE WITH THE DEVIL TO REACH POWER.

WE ESTIMATE THAT THERE EXISTS AN UNQUESTIONABLE PARALLELISM  
BETWEEN THE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED IN ANGOLA - AND THAT WHICH IS  
BEING DRAWN UP IN ZIMBABWE AND THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE A  
CHOOSE THE RIGHT PERSON TO USE AND TO ACT QUICKLY. THE ANALYSIS  
SHOWS THAT ACTUALLY NKOMO IS A MAN THAT HAS ALL THE ASSETS IN  
RELATION TO OTHER LEADERS.

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THUS WE THINK THAT THE MOMENT PROPITIOUS FOR US TO WIN NKOMO  
OVER TO OUR SIDE. IT IS NECESSARY TO EXPLOIT ALL HIS WEAK POINTS:

(1) HE NEEDS MATERIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT TO IMPOSE HIMSELF.  
(2) HE DISTRUSTS THE RUSSIANS AND FEARS THE LOW BLOW FROM  
THEM. THROUGH THE INTERMEDIARY OF KUANDA ALL THE US WOULD HAVE  
TO DO WOULD BE TO GUARANTEE WHAT THE RUSSIANS ARE OFFERING HIM SO  
THAT NKOMO COULD BE COMPLETELY CONVERTED TO THEIR SIDE.

THE REMAINDER SHOULD THEN HAPPEN VERY RAPIDLY. THE US SHOULD  
RIGHT NOW USE ALL THE ASSETS AT ITS DISPOSAL TO OVERTHROW THE  
REGIME BY FORCE OR VOLUNTARILY, (SCHAUFELE HAS ALREADY BEEN GIVEN  
THE TASK OF CALL ON IAN SMITH TO RESIGN) AND TO INSURE THE  
INSTALLATION OF NKOMO EITHER BY FORCE OR BY POPULAR SUFFERAGE  
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE PROPOSE TO THE PRESIDENT FOUNDER TO MAKE THE AMERICANS AND  
BRITISH UNDERSTAND THAT THE TANZANIAN GAME TO TRY TO DEFEND A  
FICTIONAL PRINCIPAL OF UNIFICATION OF LEADERS IS A TRAP TO  
DISTRACT. THE LEADERS WILL NEVER GET TOGETHER. AND AS IN ANGOLA,  
THE RUSSIANS ARE COUNTING ON THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE BY FORCE OF  
ARMS WHILE THE AMERICANS ARE LOOKING FOR UNIFICATION IN THE CON-  
FERENCE ROOMS. THE CLAIRVOYANCE AND SWIFTNESS ARE IN OUR HUMBLE  
ESTIMATION THE DETERMINING FACTORS FOR VICTORY IN ZIMBABWE.

END TEXT.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TEXT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SUMMIT MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-C  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 SEP 1976  
**Decapton Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decapton Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976KINSHA07761  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840104-2215, N760007-0019  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS; EXDIS  
**Reference:** 76 KINSHASA 7743, 76 KINSHASA 7749  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <09 SEP 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TEXT OF ZAIRIAN REPORT ON DAR CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** OVIP, PFOR, CG, SF, (MOBUTU SESE SEKO)  
**To:** STATE SS LUSAKA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006